

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

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S E C R E T MONROVIA 1423

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, AO, LI, US

SUBJECT: SOVIET-CUBAN PRESENCE IN ANGOLA

REF: MONROVIA 1293

1. THERE FOLLOWS THE TEXT OF A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT TOLBERT TO PRESIDENT FORD WHICH WAS HANDED TO ME BY PRESIDENT TOLBERT THIS MORNING IN A MEETING CALLED AT HIS REQUEST. IT IS THE TEXT OF THE LETTER REFERRED TO IN PARA 6 OF REFTEL. MY COMMENTS FOLLOW SEPTTEL. ORIGINAL TEXT OF LETTER WILL BE POUCHED TO DEPARTMENT.

2. QTE: MR. PRESIDENT: THANK YOU FOR THE KIND SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED IN YOUR MESSAGE OF EARLY FEBRUARY, REGARDING THE LIBERIAN GOVERNMENT'S VIEWS ON THE UNFORTUNATE ANGOLAN SITUATION. I WELCOME ANOTHER OPPORTUNITY TO CONTINUE TO SHARE WITH YOU MY VIEWS ON THIS PROBLEM, AND EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT OUR TWO COUNTRIES, INDEED ALL PEACE-LOVING NATIONS, WILL CONTINUE TO DO THE UTMOST IN ENDEAVOURING TO ENSURE THAT THE BLESSINGS OF PEACE, SELF-DETERMINATION AND PROSPERITY WILL BE ENJOYED NOT ONLY BY ALL AFRICANS, BUT BY MANKIND EVERYWHERE.

LIBERIA'S POSITION HAS LONG REMAINED CONSISTENT WITH THAT OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY: THAT A JUST AND LASTING SOLUTION TO THE ANGOLAN TRAGEDY LIES IN THE IMMEDIATE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES AND THE INITIATION OF CONSULTATIONS AMONG AUTHENTIC REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE LEADING TO THE FORMATION OF A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY. AND I HAVE THEREFORE PERSONALLY SEIZED EVERY OPPOR-

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TUNITY TO URGE THE LEADERS OF THE THREE CONTENDING FACTIONS TO CLOSE

RANKS, FORM A UNITED FRONT, AND NOT ALLOW EXTERNAL DETRACTORS TO DETER THEM FROM THIS COURSE.

AS YOU ALREADY KNOW, IN LATE JANUARY I WAS THE GUEST OF PRESIDENT IDI AMIN DADA OF THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA WHERE I PARTICIPATED IN THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS OF HIS COMING TO POWER. THE OCCASION WHICH WAS ALSO GRACED BY THE PRESENCE OF PRESIDENT MOBUTU SESE SEKO OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZAIRE AND PRESIDENT JEAN BEDEL BOKASSA OF THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC AFFORDED A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY BOTH TO REAFFIRM OUR COMMON COMMITMENT TO THE OBJECTIVE OF UPHOLDING ANGOLAN INDEPENDENCE AND TO DISCUSS THE IMMINENT THREAT TO AFRICAN SOLIDARITY AND SECURITY.

AS I INDICATED IN MY MORE RECENT LETTER, WITH WHICH I FORWARDED FOR YOUR INFORMATION, COPY OF A STATEMENT ON ANGOLA MADE BY THE LIBERIAN GOVERNMENT ON THE 13TH INSTANT, NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ANGOLAN SITUATION HAVE ONLY BUTTRESSED THE CONSISTENCY OF LIBERIA'S VIEWS WITH THOSE OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY, DIRECTED CONTINUINGLY TOWARDS PEACE, RECONCILIATION AND THE CONSOLIDATION OF ANGOLAN INDEPENDENCE. THIS IS WHY, FOLLOWING MAJORITY DECISION OF THE OAU TO RECOGNIZE THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA AND TO ADMIT IT TO FULL MEMBERSHIP, LIBERIA DECIDED TO EXTEND RECOGNITION TO THAT GOVERNMENT. AND SHE DID SO WITH THE FERVENT HOPE AND TRUST THAT THAT ACT WOULD ASSIST IN OCCASIONING AN EARLY TERMINATION OF HOSTILITIES, IN BRINGING GENUINE CONCILIATION, AND IN SECURING AN ENDURING AND JUST SOLUTION TO THE DISTRESSFUL CONFLICT.

WHILE WE SHALL NOT FAIL TO URGE THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA TO BE AS MAGNANIMOUS IN VICTORY AS SHE WAS DECISIVE IN THE STRUGGLE, WE BELIEVE THAT THE POST-ANGOLAN ERA OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN OFFERS SUCH CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES AS MAY REQUIRE THE URGENT AND VIGOROUS DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES OF COUNTRIES SUCH AS YOUR OWN, SINCE A PEACEFUL CHANGE AND A STABLE WORLD ORDER ARE IMPORTANT OBJECTIVES WHICH I AM CERTAIN WE SHARE IN COMMON.

IT CAN ONLY BE CONSIDERED REALISTIC FOR ONE TO PERCEIVE THAT WITH THE LEGALIZATION AND LEGITIMIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA, BY THE ACTS OF RECOGNITION BY THE OAU MEMBERSHIP, THE CUBAN FORCES AND THE SOVIET INTERVENTION WHICH WERE  
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DECISIVE FACTORS IN THIS MPLA VICTORY ARE NOT LIKELY TO BE WITHDRAWN FROM ANGOLA IMMEDIATELY. IT WOULD ONLY BE REASONABLE FOR US TO RECOGNIZE THAT THEY WILL REMAIN TO HELP CONSOLIDATE THE MPLA IN POWER. MORE THAN THAT, IT IS REASONABLE TO BELIEVE THAT THE CUBANS AND RUSSIANS COULD CHOOSE TO REMAIN IN SOUTHERN AFRICAN AND ACTIVELY AID THE ON-GOING STRUGGLE TO LIBERATE NAMIBIA, ZIMBABWE, AND PERHAPS EVEN APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA. AND THEY MAY NO DOUBT BE ENCOURAGED BY A UNITED AFRICA WHICH IS NOW DETERMINED AND WHOLLY COMMITTED TO

LIBERATE ITS CONTINENTAL HOMELAND.

AS SUCH, A NEW FEVER OF INCANDESCENCE MAY RISE HIGH IN THE AFRICAN THEATER.

I NEED NOT MENTION THE CLEAR THREAT SUCH A LIKELY PROSPECT HOLDS NOT ONLY FOR AFRICAN PEACE AND PROGRESS BUT ALSO FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. FOR AFRICA WOULD THEN FIND HERSELF, WITH THE SUBSTANTIAL SUPPORT FROM CUBA AND THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, IN A HEAD-ON COLLISION WITH THE REMNANTS OF COLONIALISM IN THE SUB-REGION, ESPECIALLY THE APARTHEID REGIME OF SOUTH AFRICA.

I WOULD WANT YOU TO UNDERSTAND THAT THESE THOUGHTS ARE COMING FROM ONE WHO PREFERS TO FACE REALITIES CONSCIENTIOUSLY AND WITH CONSISTENCY. AS I AM COMMITTED AND UNDER OBLIGATION TO DO EVERYTHING WITHIN MY POWER TO ASSIST IN BRINGING PEACE AND SECURITY TO OUR ONE WORLD, MANKIND BEING MY CHALLENGE, I DO NOT HESITATE TO COMMUNICATE MY CONCERN TO THOSE WHO ARE POSSESSED WITH GOOD-WILL AND WHO IN SOME MANNER HAVE THE POWER TO INFLUENCE THE COURSE OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS.

IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT THE CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN YOUR GOVERNMENT AND THAT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA HAVE FORTUNATELY REMAINED OPEN, I WISH TO SUGGEST, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT THE CRITICAL SCENARIO WHICH I HAVE ATTEMPTED TO DESCRIBE HEREIN COULD BE SEEN AS UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY FOR COUNTRIES SUCH AS YOUR OWN TO URGENTLY UNDERTAKE DIPLOMATIC MEASURES DESIGNED TO PERSUADE SOUTH AFRICA TO GRANT IMMEDIATE INDEPENDENCE TO NAMIBIA, AND PERSUASIVELY URGE MR. SMITH TO MAKE POSSIBLE MAJORITY RULE IN ZIMBABWE WITHOUT FURTHER DELAY.

SUCH TIMELY POSITIVE ACTIONS BY MR. VORSTER OF SOUTH AFRICA AND  
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MR. SMITH OF ZIMBABWE WOULD CONSIDERABLY STRENGTHEN THE HANDS OF THOSE AFRICAN LEADERS WHO SHARE VIEWS SIMILAR TO MINE AND AID IN BRINGING SUCCESS TO APPROPRIATE INITIATIVES DESIGNED TO RESOLVE THE CRISIS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WITHOUT CONTINUING BLOODSHED. THEY WOULD FURTHER, IN MY OPINION, CONTRIBUTE IMMEASURABLY TO PEACEFUL CHANGE ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT, AND COULD SURELY REMOVE THE SERIOUS THREAT WHICH PROSPECTIVE CONDITIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA POSE TO WORLD PEACE AND SECURITY.

WITH SENTIMENTS OF HIGHEST ESTEEM AND CONSIDERATION,  
SINCERELY, W.R. TOLBERT, JR. UNQTE.  
BEAN

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